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ABSTRACT

The September 11, 2001 attack on the United States and the killing of thousands of innocent people mark the end of one world and the beginning of another for many. For the United States, global issues became personalized. This resource guide seeks to place terrorism in the context of world affairs, in the belief that students need to know how to analyze public issues, make reasoned decisions, and take sensible action. As U.S. citizens, students need to understand issues of peace and security, interactions of diverse cultures, and conflicts and connections in a world for which they will one day become responsible. This guide explores the critical issues concerning terrorism. Eight articles are included: (1) "Putting Terrorism in Context" (Martha Crenshaw); (2) "What Is Terrorism?" (Constitutional Rights Foundation); (3) "Discussing Terrorism and Global Events" (based on an address by Howard Mehlinger); (4) "A Brief History of Biological Terrorism"; (5) "The Key Players Speak: George W. Bush, Pervez Musharraf, Osama Bin Laden"; (6) "Terrorism: How Have Other Countries Handled It? How Should We?" (Constitutional Rights Foundation); (7) "Should Military Tribunals Be Established to Try Suspected Terrorists?"; and (8) "Attack on the United States: How Should We Respond?" The guide contains 19 annotated sources available on the Internet, 10 questions to be used as discussion starters, an activity on handling controversy, and a classroom activity on the Terrorism Prevention Act. Additional information (in boxes)is included throughout the publication. (BT)

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Terrorism--What Every Teacher Should Know. A Resource Guide for the Classroom.

Tedd Levy, Editor

American Forum for Global Education, New York, NY.

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A SPECIAL EDITION OF ISSUES IN GLOBAL EDUCATION

TERRORISM
What Every Teacher Should Know
A RESOURCE GUIDE FOR THE CLASSROOM

The American Forum for Global Education

For the past several years we have talked about how the world has grown smaller, a global village if you will, and now we have convincing evidence, if we ever needed it, that the village includes some unsavory characters and difficult neighborhoods.

For many, the September 11, 2001 attack, and the killing of thousands of innocent people, is a watershed date that marks the end of one era and the beginning of a different and dangerous world. For Americans, global issues have become more personalized than ever before.

As with every crisis in recent years, the schools are called upon to care for students, provide a relevant curriculum, and offer competent instruction about parts of the world we may not have known about before—East Timor, Somalia, Kosovo—and now Afghanistan, the Taliban, Al Qaeda and assorted terrorist organizations.

This publication seeks to put terrorism into the context of world affairs. It is our belief that students need to know about the world if they are to analyze public issues, make reasoned decisions and take sensible action. As American citizens, they need to know about issues of peace and security, the interaction of diverse cultures, and the conflicts and connections in a world for which they will one day become responsible. It is in the environment of an encouraging and stimulating classroom that they can explore these critical issues. Much good material has recently been developed on the topic. We are pleased to offer here some of this material and encourage teachers to look elsewhere as well for timely resources. The American Forum would like to express its appreciation to the Constitutional Rights Foundation for their many valuable contributions to this guide.

Yedd Levy, Editor

PUTTING TERRORISM IN CONTEXT

by Martha Crenshaw

What is terrorism?

Terrorism is a conspiratorial style of violence calculated to alter the attitudes and behavior of multiple audiences. It targets the few in a way that claims the attention of the many. Thus a lack of proportion between resources deployed and effects created, between the material power of actors and the fear their actions generate, is typical. Among systematic and organized modes of civil or international violence, terrorism is distinguished by its high symbolic and expressive value. The discrepancy between the secrecy of planning and the visibility of results gives it even more shock value.

In general, who engages in terrorism?

Terrorism is not mass or collective violence but rather the direct activity of small groups. However authentically popular these groups may be, and even if supported by a large organization or political party, the number of active militants who engage in terrorism is small. These few may be isolated from the broader society; on the other hand, they may act as an extremist offshoot of a larger social movement, profiting from the patronage of a significant segment of the population. Moreover, governments and their agents can practice terrorism, whether to suppress domestic dissent or to further international purposes, such as the export of revolution in the case of Iran. Such use is usually carefully concealed in order to avoid public attribution of responsibility.

Why do people or groups engage in terrorism?

There is nothing automatic about the choice of terrorism. Like any political decision, the decision to use terrorism is influenced by psychological considerations and internal bargaining, as well as by reasoned or strategic reactions to opportunities and constraints, perceived in light of the organization's goals. Both causes and consequences of terrorism can only be understood in terms of interactions among political actors, primarily governments and oppositions, at specific points in history.

What are the consequences of terrorism?

The impact of terrorism is often lost in a tide of sensational exaggerations. Furthermore, terrorism shapes interactions among political actors over long periods of time through a dynamic process in which violence alters the conditions under which it initially occurs. Many consequences are unintended, but it is rare that terrorism (or, more frequently, the government's reaction to terrorism) does not alter political institutions, values, and behavior as well as the functioning of society. *continued on p. 2*

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How does the media affect our view of terrorism?

In modern societies, political conceptions are communicated and even originated by the news media, an institution that serves not only as a channel for transmitting information about terrorism but also as a magnifying glass. It simplifies the problem of terrorism by focusing the attention of the public on the newsworthy aspects of the phenomenon, which tend to be its extraordinary or shocking characteristics, rather than on any banal or mundane qualities it may possess. Thus, terrorism is described as the dramatic, outrageous, and objectionable. At the same time, many oppositions that use terrorism are fully aware of the opportunities for publicity inherent in their environment and exploit their own newsworthiness with varying degrees of deftness.

Why is it sometimes difficult to determine what terrorism is?

Since terrorism is a political label, it is an organizing concept that both describes the phenomenon as it exists and offers a moral judgment. A label is a useful shorthand, combining descriptive, evocative, and symbolic elements, but its meanings are inherently flexible and ambiguous. They may even be contradictory.

Political language affects the perceptions of audiences and their expectations about how the problem thus evoked will be treated. That is, by defining and identifying a problem, labels may also indicate a preferred solution.

Politics involves competition to define terms, as actors attempt to impose their own interpretations of history. In contemporary politics, calling adversaries terrorists is a way of depicting them as fanatic and irrational so as to foreclose the possibility of compromise, draw attention to the real or imagined threat to security, and promote solidarity among the threatened.

Are terrorists and their actions similar to traditional political or military actions?

An underground organization using terrorism probably defines terrorism as warfare in order to acquire political recognition and status, which in turn can confer legitimacy, which is exactly what governments resist. To be engaged in warfare is a justification for terrorism as well as a claim to powerful status. The smaller and the more extreme the group becomes, it seems, the more likely it is to call itself an army (such as the Red Army Faction, the Japanese Red Army, or the Red Brigades); but one would not want to overlook the Irish Republican Army, which uses the term to remind us of its heritage. Most underground groups borrow the symbols and trappings of military discipline and procedure. Yet acts of terrorism do not typically resemble acts of warfare. Hard or well-defended targets of military or defensive value to the enemy are rarely the targets of terrorism; to the contrary, terrorists seem to prefer noncombatants.

[However] even the best scholarly intentions may not suffice to distinguish terrorism from protest, guerrilla warfare, urban guerrilla warfare, subversion, criminal violence, paramilitarism, communal violence, or banditry.

One reason for the power of terrorism as a political label, and hence for its controversy, is not only its usefulness but its symbolic appeal. Terrorism has acquired a political value that can outlast short-term strategic failures. It persists despite negative outcomes. Terrorism projects images, communicates messages, and creates myths that transcend historical circumstances and motivate future generations. It may be true that audiences react with both admiration for its daring and revulsion at its cruelty. It is easy for terrorism to become the cutting edge of a movement and to define an ideology. Undeniably it possesses an aura of perversely tragic glamour.

What types of individuals become terrorists, and why?

Entrepreneurial types who create independent organizations (often splinters from larger social movements) as well as those who are recruited into long-standing organizations *continued on p. 22*

Discussion Starters

Use these questions to introduce or conclude your work on terrorism and world affairs. These may also be adapted as pre- and post- appraisals of changes in students' views on these issues.

1. Should the US become more, or less, involved in world affairs?
2. How well are US policies and actions serving our national interests?
3. Given the world's history, is continual conflict and violence to be expected with global involvement?
4. Are US global policies an underlying cause for terrorist attacks against the US? Is US culture? Entertainment industry? Economic system? Democratic form of government? Religious beliefs? Values and style of living?
5. Should immigration be severely limited or ended?
6. Should the government prevent television stations from using statements prepared by suspected terrorists? Do published or televised reports about terrorism help prevent, or promote, fear?
7. Should assassinations be part of US foreign policy? Should suspected terrorists be kept in jail until they confess? Should some forms of torture be used to obtain information from suspected terrorists?
8. What, if any, actions can the US or others take to remove the causes of terrorist attacks?
9. What will be the long-term consequences of the terrorist attacks?
10. Should schools teach more, or less, about: US History? World Cultures? Religion, including Islam? Terrorism?

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WHAT IS TERRORISM?

Provided by the Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF)

[CRF is one of the nation's leading non-profit organizations involved in civics and law-related education. This lesson, as well as many others related to terrorism, can be found on CRF's web site <http://www.crf-usa.org>. *Ed.*]

Since the terrible events of September 11, 2001, with the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the subject of terrorism has exploded on the world stage. President George W. Bush has declared a war against terrorism. The vast resources of the United States and other countries have been directed toward ending terrorism in America and around the world. Yet, in spite of these developments, it is clear that countries are not only divided about what to do about terrorism, but even about how to define it.

By its nature, the term "terrorism" is bound up in political controversy. It is a concept with a very negative connotation. Because terrorism implies the killing and maiming of innocent people, no country wants to be accused of supporting terrorism or harboring terrorist groups. At the same time, no country wants what it considers to be a legitimate use of force to be considered terrorism. An old saying goes, "One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter."

Today, there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism. Countries define the term according to their own beliefs and to support their own national interests. International bodies, when they craft a definition, do so in the interests of their member states. Academics striving to define terrorism are also subject to their own political points of view.

European countries and the United States tend to define terrorism narrowly, making sure that it only applies to acts of non-governmental organizations. For example, Title 22 of the US Code defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence" against "noncombatant targets by subnational groups," usually with the goal to influence an audience.

The US Department of Defense uses a definition that highlights another element of the Western concept of terrorism. Terrorism is "the calculated use of violence or the threat of violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally *political, religious, or ideological.*" In other words, terrorism is violence designed to advance some cause by getting a government to change its policies or political behavior.

Contrast these definitions with one produced by Iranian religious scholar, Ayatulla Taskhiri, in a paper delivered at a 1987 international terrorism conference called by the Organization of the Islamic Conference. After a review of Islamic sources concerning terrorism, Taskhiri defined it as follows: "Terrorism is an act carried out to achieve an inhuman and corrupt objective and involving threat to security of any kind, and in violation of the rights acknowledged by religion and mankind."

This is a much broader definition of terrorism. Under this definition, nation states themselves could be guilty of terrorism. Any inhuman or corrupt objective coupled with an act that threatens security and rights regardless of the motivation could be considered terrorism. Later in his paper, Taskhiri accuses the United States of being the "mother of international terrorism" by oppressing peoples, strengthening dictatorships, and supporting the occupation of territories and savage attacks on civilian areas.

The United States would likely reject this definition and Taskhiri's charges and could point out that many states under this definition would also be chargeable with terrorism. Nevertheless, the definition points out the wide gulf in perceptions about what terrorism is and who is guilty of it.

Consider some additional definitions of terrorism:

- "All criminal acts directed against a State intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or persons in the general public."
  (League of Nations, 1937)
- "Act of terrorism = Peacetime Equivalent of War Crime."
  (Alex P. Schmid of United Nations Office for the Prevention of International Terrorism. He is the author of many books on terrorism, including *Terrorism and the Media*, 1992.)
- "Terrorism is the premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem, and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain a political or tactical advantage, usually to influence an audience."
  (James M. Poland, professor of criminal justice at California State University, Sacramento. He has written extensively on terrorism and hostage crisis intervention.)

While there is no universal definition of terrorism, various experts point out that there are common elements to most terrorist acts.

Acts of terrorism usually are committed by groups who do not possess the political power to change policies they view as intolerable. Middle Eastern terrorism intensified in the 1970s in response to defeats of Arab nations in wars with Israel over the Palestine issue.

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION (CRF)

CRF is a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to educating America's young people about the importance of civic participation in a democratic society. For more than 30 years, CRF has developed and distributed programs and materials emphasizing critical thinking and civic participation to teachers, students, and public-minded citizens all across the nation.

CRF PROGRAMS— CRF runs more than a dozen programs. Among them are the California State Mock Trial, History Day in California, and the Youth Internship Program. Two programs may be of particular interest to students and teachers across the nation:

Free Expression in a Free Society. In this national competition, students submit short videos on the theme of free expression. The entries are judged by members of the film industry.

Summer Law Institute. Open to students across the nation, this program offers students an exciting week on the UCLA campus learning about law.

CRF MATERIALS— CRF produces and publishes more than 50 free and low-cost curriculum materials. All have detailed teacher instructions and exciting interactive activities that foster critical thinking. Some of the publications are:

Bill of Rights in Action. This free quarterly newsletter goes to more than 30,000 educators across the country. Each issue has a reading and interactive activity on world history, US history, and government.

Criminal Justice in America. This is the most comprehensive and interactive introductory text available on the criminal justice system.

The Challenge Series. The four volumes in this new series take a balanced look at crucial challenges facing the United States—violence, information, diversity, and governance.

Of Codes and Crowns. A text on the development of law from prehistoric times through Renaissance Italy.

Foundations of Freedom. This text traces the 200-year history of the Bill of Rights.

Adventures in Law and History. This new, two-volume curriculum provides upper-elementary teachers with motivating materials for teaching about law and effective citizenship in American history.

CityYouth. This middle-school curriculum integrates service learning into the core academic program. It includes lessons in social studies, math, science, and language arts.

Active Citizenship Today Field Guide. A comprehensive guide for young people to take action in the community. It provides step-by-step instructions. Available in high school and middle school editions.

HTTP://WWW.CRF-USA.ORG— The CRF web site is constantly expanding. Its many features include:

Online Lessons. More than seven years of back issues of *Bill of Rights in Action* are now online. Each issue is updated and has links to other sites for further research. Also available are special lessons on subjects such as terrorism.

Publications. CRF's full catalog of publications is available online. It includes sample lessons, and our new secure server makes purchases possible.

Programs. All of CRF's programs are online. For example, under the California Mock Trial program, you can view the finalists in the Courtroom Artists Contest.

Links. The site has many great links—links on terrorism, research links (a fantastic place for anyone to begin researching on the Internet)—and CRF has just started adding links for all its publications. The first publication with links is *Criminal Justice in America.*

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Convinced that further wars were futile, a number of countries, including Egypt, sought peace with Israel. This enraged groups within those countries dedicated to the defeat of Israel, who then turned to terrorism.

Terrorists choose targets and actions to maximize the psychological effect on a society or government. Their goal is to create a situation in which a government will change its policies to avoid further bloodshed or disruption. For these reasons, terrorists often choose methods of mass destruction, such as bombings, and target transportation or crowded places to increase anxiety and fear.

Terrorists plan their acts to get as much media exposure as possible. Media coverage magnifies the terrorist act by spreading fear among a mass audience and giving attention to the terrorist cause. The attacks on Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics assured a worldwide television audience, as did crashing planes into the World Trade Center.

Terrorists often justify their acts on ideological or religious grounds, arguing that they are responding to a greater wrong or are promoting a greater good. For example, Leon Trotsky, a communist leader during the Russian Revolution, justified the use of terror by the Red Army as a necessary evil to promote the worldwide cause of workers and as a response to the military actions of counterrevolutionaries and Western powers. ❖

On the top of the following page are classroom excercises related to this article.

FACT

☐ By October, four of the top five books on *The New York Times* list of best sellers were related to terrorism or the military: *Taliban* by Ahmed Rashid, *Bin Laden* by Yossef Bodansky; *Band of Brothers* by Stephen E. Ambrose; and *Black Hawk Down* by Mark Bowden.

For Classroom Discussion

1. Why is it difficult to agree upon a universally accepted definition of terrorism?

2. What are the different definitions of terrorism contained in the article? Which definition do you favor? Why?

3. Why does Alex Schmid call a terrorist act the equivalent of a peacetime war crime? Do you agree? Why or why not?

4. Is it important to arrive at a universal definition of terrorism? Why or why not?

Activity

Divide the class into small groups and do the following: Review the various definitions of terrorism contained in the article and choose the best one. Or, review the article and create your own definition of terrorism. Review the following situations, and determine which, if any, are examples of terrorism.

1. A radical environmental group burns a vacant hotel that was recently legally built in a wilderness area.

2. Country X, during a time of war, accidentally kills civilians while conducting bombing raids in Country Z.

3. Country X hires an organized crime group in Country Z to assassinate civilian leaders of a group opposing the international policies of Country X.

4. A national separatist group in Country X blows up a railroad station in Country Z to discourage that government from supporting policies of the government in Country X.

For Further Reading

- The Terrorism Research Center, "The Basics of Terrorism: Part 1," <http://www.terrorism.com>.
- Ayatulla Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali Taskhiri, "Towards a Definition of Terrorism," <http://www.al-islam.org>.
- United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, "Definitions of Terrorism," <http://wwww.undcp.org>.
- *Political Terrorism Database*, "Definitions of Terrorism," <http://polisci.home.mindspring.com/ptd/>.

Discussing Terrorism and Global Events

[Based on an address by Howard Mehlinger of the Mid-America Center, Inc. (Bloomington, IN) at a conference, *Globalization and Education*, convened by the American Forum and George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs, at George Washington University, Washington, DC, November 14, 2001. *Ed.*]

There are many ways to think of global events. Here are four approaches that teachers have used, and can use when dealing with any set of world events, including those that occurred on September 11 and beyond.

1) Focus on the **specific events** themselves

2) Address the **political processes** that are employed to resolve problems created by the events

3) Deal with the underlying **values** that prompted the event and are affecting the solutions to the problems caused by the events; and

4) treat the events as examples of larger processes—**concepts**—at work in the world.

Specific Events

This approach explains the time commonly allocated in class for discussing current events. Citizenship education involves making students aware of important world events and making attending to news a habit that students will maintain throughout their adult lives.

But, it is easy to allow the classroom to become merely a place where students discuss what they have already learned from the media. Teachers should work not only to make students more attentive to the news but also to provide them with some protection from the news. Students should become skeptical consumers of the news, not merely passive receivers. For this purpose teachers can devise lessons about current events that are more than merely digesting the news for students.

Political Processes

Nearly every event carries with it an expectation that someone will do something about it. Who, how, and what actions are taken are often treated by the news media as separate events. While it is unlikely that teachers and students can know all there is to know about the specific decision- making process for particular events, they must strive to know all that they can. Decisions made by political leaders in response to world events are the essence of politics. Understanding how such decisions are made, and by whom, lies at the heart of what it means to be a democratic citizen. *continued on p. 6*

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Value Issues

Values reflect our preferences and also provide criteria for making policy judgments. Many of the issues we confront in international affairs involve value conflicts. The classroom may be the only place where students can engage in thoughtful value inquiry. Today, teachers are vulnerable to criticism when they promote value inquiries relating to American foreign policy and the actions of their government. Yet they will duck their responsibilities as teachers if they let the value issues that underlie our policies go unexamined.

Let us look at some of the value problems that we are facing today. In the interest of providing security for our citizens we are placing constraints on some of the rights we enjoy as American citizens. Our desire for safety conflicts with our values concern in privacy, confidentiality, and punishment without trial. These issues should be fodder for classroom debate.

Conceptual Approaches

A concept is a term used to group objects, events and processes that share essential characteristics. It is a category that makes a general case from many special instances.

Some concepts are easily defined; others are not. Take the term terrorist, for example. What is a terrorist? How do we distinguish terrorists from non-terrorists? What might be the attributes of terrorists: fanaticism, disregard for human life, commitment to a doctrine or set of beliefs, discipline? In order to determine whether particular individuals have the attributes of a terrorist, we need to know what those attributes are. We have pledged to root out terrorism wherever it exists, but we must know what it is if we are to eliminate it.

Why is it important to promote understanding? Note the difference in the responsibility of a teacher in contrast to a public official charged with carrying out public policy. Having decided upon a policy with regard to terrorism, it is the responsibility of government officials to mobilize American support behind the policy. They need to promote action, not reflection. For example, it is surely in the American interest to separate Muslim terrorists from Muslims in general; not only is it intellectually and ethically proper to do so, it is also strategically important to do so.

It is not in the interest of American government officials today to inform the public that terrorism takes many forms and that some Americans practice terrorism also. This would likely divide Americans politically. Thus, the administration must maintain focus on the most dangerous terrorists of the moment and ignore anything that would distract the public from what it judges to be the major task. A teacher may find herself conflicted; as a patriot she may wish to enthusiastically and unquestionably support American policy; on the other hand, as a teacher, she has an obligation to help students understand the process at work.

In summary, when teaching about the world, teachers have choices. They can focus on events, on the decision-making processes that will presumably lead to resolution of conflicts, on the values that underlie the conflicts, or on the underlying concepts that help make the current world understandable. Some of these approaches present more risk than do others; some will serve students better than others. Given a choice, I would put my energy into the values that underlie conflicts and the concepts that help us understand them better. ❖

Freedom of the Press
Should the Book Be Published?

Case #1 — Al Jazeera TV has obtained exclusive rights to interviews with Osama bin Laden and has proposed publishing his biography and these interviews which, they state, will provide readers with insights into his beliefs and objectives. Some American publishers stated that they were not interested because they did not want to make money off of the words of someone whom the US considers its sworn enemy, or did not want to help spread his word, or didn't want to publish it because it wouldn't sell.

Lyle Stuart, president of Barricade Books, a small publisher dedicated to testing the limits of free speech, said he was ready to publish it. "I feel we should understand the mind of the enemy," he said.

Case #2 — Timothy Tobiason, a businessman from Nebraska who bitterly hates the US government, has written a book on germ warfare that bio-terrorism experts say is accurate enough to be dangerous. The book, which is mostly sold at gun shows, includes directions for making and delivering anthrax and other biological weapons.

Mr. Tobiason has said that he has made some pathogens but has never used them to harm anyone. He says he is working on another book that will describe how to make large-scale germ warfare weapons that could launch a deadly biological attack. While experts say his work is crude they admit that it could be lethal. One authority emphatically states that the book ought to be illegal. ❖

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A Brief History of Biological Terrorism

Biological weapons differ fundamentally from other weapons of mass destruction. Whereas nuclear and chemical weapons cause immediate casualties, biological agents require hours to days or even weeks of incubation before they cause fatalities . . . . Barring a terrorist announcement or fortuitous discovery, a biological attack will first become known hours or days after its execution, when its victims begin to appear at doctors' offices and hospital emergency rooms. Sufficiently subtle biological terrorist attacks might go unrecognized, or remain undetected for long periods of time. Terrorism involving the dispersal of radiological materials could, in this respect, share some similarities with biological agents.

An examination of biological terrorism episodes illustrates the range of threats for which we must prepare. The most dramatic geological threat is a major terrorist attack against an urban center, using an efficient mechanism for the dispersal of the biological agent. In 1993, the Office of Technology Assessment estimated that 100 kg of aerosolized (converted to respirable particles in the 1 to 5 micron size range) *Bacillus anthracix* spores dispensed by an airplane upwind of a major city could kill hundreds of thousands to millions of people. A different scenario estimates that the number of deaths resulting from an anthrax aerosol dispersed from a boat sailing upwind from New York City could be over 400,000 people. While no such major biological attack has yet succeeded, this decade has seen the release of sarin nerve agent in the Tokyo metro system in 1995 by the Aum Shinrikyo religious cult (killing eleven people, with over 5,000 injured, of whom some 700 required hospitalization). Moreover, the Aum repeatedly—at least nine times—attempted biological attacks on Tokyo city as well as nearby US naval installations. While the failure of the Aum's attacks suggests that acquiring and successfully weaponizing an effective biological agent remains challenging, large-scale attacks on civilian urban populations nevertheless are clearly no longer in the realm of the fantastic.

Many biological terrorist attacks have been conducted or attempted. The following examples illustrate the range of incidents in recent history.

➢ In 1995 two members of the Minnesota Patriots Council were convicted of planning to use a biological toxin to assassinate Internal Revenue Service agents and a deputy US Marshall. In that same year, a member of the white supremacist organization Aryan Nation was arrested for ordering three vials of freeze-dried bubonic plague from a biological supply house in Maryland.

➢ Testimony in June 1998 before South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission revealed that the apartheid-era South African government developed chocolates and cigarettes infected with anthrax, beer bottles containing botulism, sugar laced with *Salmonella*, and bottles of cholera culture. These products were used both for the attempted assassination of specific political opponents and, perhaps, to cause outbreaks in African National Congress training camps.

➢ In 1996, twelve laboratory workers at a large medical center in Texas developed acute diarrheal illness after eating doughnuts left in their break room that had been intentionally contaminated with a bacterium.

➢ In September 1984, members of an Oregon commune headed by the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh *continued on p. 8*

Smallpox Cases

The smallpox virus has an incubation time of seven to seventeen days. The discontinuation of routine vaccination, the contagiousness of the disease (including secondary transmission from infected individuals who might themselves never manifest the disease), and the unknown extent of possible clandestine stockpiles make smallpox seem an especially attractive agent of bioterrorism. It has been reported that North Korea may retain smallpox cultures for use as a biological weapon.

Consider the outcome of one infected individual visiting New York City. In 1947 an American businessman arrived from Mexico with a fever, headache, and a rash, and then spent several hours sightseeing. His illness turned out to be smallpox and he died nine days later after having infected twelve others, of whom two died. Public health officials viewed the potential for transmission to be so serious (despite the fact that Americans at that time were routinely vaccinated against smallpox) that over six million people in New York City were vaccinated within a month. In contrast to 1947, Americans have not been routinely vaccinated against smallpox since 1980. The federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) currently [1998] maintain over twelve million doses of vaccine in storage.

In a more recent case, in 1972 a pilgrim returned to Yugoslavia from Iraq infected with smallpox. To contain the resulting outbreak, over ten thousand people were quarantined, and twenty million were vaccinated in less than two weeks.

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used *Salmonella* to contaminate restaurant salad bars and coffee creamers in the county seat of Wasco County, Oregon. Although there were no fatalities, some 750 people became ill, with 45 requiring hospitalization . . . . Two commune members were indicted in 1986 and later pleaded guilty to conspiring to tamper with consumer products by poisoning food.

➢ In 1972, members of a US fascist group called the Order of the Rising Sun were arrested in possession of 30 to 40 kg of typhoid bacteria with which they planned to contaminate water supplies in Chicago, St. Louis, and other Midwestern US cities. It is unlikely such an attack could have been successful, due to chlorination.

➢ In the early 1990s, the Aum Shinrikyo released anthrax bacteria at least twice from a building in eastern Tokyo. Similarly, they sprayed anthrax in aerosol form from a truck driven around Tokyo, and they released botulism in a similar manner. None of these attacks appears to have resulted in any casualties, and it appears that the Aum both failed to breed the most virulent strains and did not master aerosolization.

➢ The Aum Shinrikyo reportedly also sprayed anthrax from a truck driven past the US naval installation at Yokohama, then by the headquarters of the US Navy's Seventh Fleet at Yokosuka. Again, neither of these attacks appears to have resulted in any casualties.

➢ Accidental releases from biological warfare facilities in the Soviet Union and the United States. In 1979, an unusual anthrax epidemic occurred in the Soviet city of Sverdlovsk in the former USSR. Soviet officials attributed the outbreak to consumption of contaminated meat, but US agencies suspected it to be due to the accidental release of spores from a military facility located in the city. In 1992 Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who in 1979 had been the chief Communist Party official of the Sverdlovsk region, stated that "the KGB admitted that our military developments were the cause."

➢ In the US, an offensive biological weapons program was begun in 1942 with research and development facilities at Camp (later Fort) Detrick, Maryland, testing sites in Mississippi and Utah, and a production facility in Terre Haute, Indiana. This production facility lacked adequate engineering safety measures, and tests of the fermentation and storage processes using nonpathogenic bacteria demonstrated contamination of the plant and its environs.

➢ Inspections of biological facilities in Iraq by the United Nations Special Commission indicate that the Baghdad government cut corners on safety and biocontainment, viewing production workers as expendable. Some governments may be especially likely to infect their own citizens during weapons development and production. These examples suggest that unintentional releases of biological agents may be typical events in a developing biological weapons program. International surveillance capable of investigating accidental releases (requiring access to sites and epidemiological date) is therefore important.❖

Source: Excerpted with permission from Biological Terrorism, Emerging Diseases, and National Security: Project World Security, by Christopher F. Chyba (New York: Rockefeller Brothers Fund, 1998), pp. 9-14.

How Far Should We go?

In an editorial in *Newsweek* (November 5, 2001), columnist Jonathan Alter asked: should we turn to torture? Not necessarily the use of cattle prods or rubber hoses, but something to jump start the investigation into the terrorists attacks of September 11. He asks if we couldn't subject suspected terrorists to "psychological torture" or truth serum or "deportation to Saudi Arabia, land of beheadings?"

He notes that the FBI is eager to try sodium pentothal, truth serum, and states that they deserve the chance. "Unfortunately, truth serum, first used on spies in World War II, makes suspects gabby but not necessarily truthful. The same goes for even the harshest torture. When the subject breaks, he often lies. Prisoners 'have only one objective—to end the pain'. . . But, he continues, some torture works, and he cites several examples from around the world.

"We can't legalize physical torture; it's contrary to American values," he states. "But even as we continue to speak out against human-rights abuses around the world, we need to keep an open mind about certain measures to fight terrorism, like court-sanctioned psychological interrogation."

The question remains: do the present circumstances call for these harsh actions? ❖

Best-Selling Books Related to Terrorism

AMAZON.COM, WEEK OF OCT. 29, 2001

⓫ *Fighting Terrorism: How Democracies Can Defeat Domestic and International Terrorists* by Binyamin Netanyahu.

⓬ *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* by Walter Reich (Editor).

⓭ *Terrorism and US Foreign Policy* by Paul R. Pillar.

⓮ *Germs: Biological Weapons and America's Secret War* by Judith Miller, et al.

⓯ *Chem-Bio: Frequently Asked Questions* by Barbara Graves (Editor).

⓰ *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism* by John K. Cooley.

⓱ *The Price of Terror* by Allan Gerson.

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The Key Players Speak

George W. Bush, Pervez Musharraf, Osama bin Laden

GEORGE W. BUSH
President of the United States of America

Excerpted from the Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, September 20, 2001

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars—but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war—but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks—but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day—and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: **Who attacked our country?** The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as Al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.

Al Qaeda is to terror what the Mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world—and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics—a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and makes no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader—a person named Osama bin Laden—are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of Al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see Al Qaeda's vision for the world.

Afghanistan's people have been brutalized—many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan—after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid—but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of Al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate. . . .

Americans are asking, **why do they hate us**? They hate what we see right here in this chamber—a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. *continued on p. 10*

continued from p. 9 By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions—by abandoning every value except the will to power—they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies. . . .

Americans are asking: **How will we fight and win this war**? We will direct every resource at our command—every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war—to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me—the Office of Homeland Security. . . .

Americans are asking: **What is expected of us**? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, <http://libertyunites.org>, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today.

And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

PERVEZ MUSHARRAF

President General, Pakistan

Excerpted from a speech on radio and television to the Pakistani people, Islamabad, September 19, 2001

The situation confronting the nation today and the international crisis have impelled me to take the nation into confidence. First of all, I would like to express heartfelt sympathies to the United States for the thousands of valuable lives lost in the United States due to horrendous acts of terrorism.

We are all the more grieved because in this incident people from about 45 countries from all over the world lost their lives. People of all ages, old, children, women and people from all and every religion lost their lives. Many Pakistanis also lost their lives.

These people were capable Pakistanis who had gone to improve their lives. On this loss of lives I express my sympathies with those families. I pray to Allah to rest their souls in peace.

This act of terrorism has raised a wave of deep grief, anger and retaliation in the United States. Their first target from day one is Osama bin Laden's movement Al Qaeda about which they say that it is their first target.

The second target are Taliban and that is because Taliban have given refuge to Osama and his network. This has been their demand for many years.

They have been demanding their extradition and presentation before the international court of justice. Taliban have been rejecting this.

The third target is a long war against terrorism at the international level. The thing to ponder is that in these three targets nobody is talking about war against Islam or the people of Afghanistan. *continued on p. 12*

Terrorism: How Have Other Countries Handled It? How Should We?

Provided by the Constitutional Rights Foundation

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, took the lives of thousands of people and demonstrated that terrorism is one of the most significant problems facing the United States.

For the past 30 years, terrorists have operated in many countries. A sign of things to come, however, occurred in 1993 when a massive explosion destroyed the underground garage of the World Trade Center in New York City, killing six. Those responsible belonged to a group of Arab extremists who viewed America as an evil force in the world. The bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, did more than end the lives of 168 persons. It also brought terrorism to the heartland of America.

But the Oklahoma City bombing was the work of a small group of Americans angry with their own government. The most recent terrorist attacks seem to be the work of foreign extremists determined to change US policy in the Middle East by causing as many deaths as possible.

What is terrorism? The British government, which has been fighting terrorism in Northern Ireland since the late 1960s, provides one definition: "the use of violence for political ends." This includes "any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public . . . in fear." Terrorist groups typically reject democratic means of change, like elections, and believe that only violence can bring about their political goals.

Many nations have had experiences with terrorists. How have other countries fought terrorism within their borders? What should we do about it here?

West Germany: Red Army Faction

In the 1970s and '80s, the most dangerous terrorists in Europe were associated with Marxist and other left-wing revolutionary groups. One of the first of these violent groups to form was the Red Army Faction (RAF), also known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang. Operating mostly in West Germany throughout the 1970s, the RAF directed its terrorist acts at "American imperialism." Targets included the US military as well as German political and business leaders. The Red Army Faction carried out bombings, shootings, kidnapings, and bank robberies.

From 1970 to 1979, the RAF killed 31 persons, injured about 100, took 163 hostages, and was responsible for 25 bombings. Among those killed were the attorney general of West Germany, the head of a national employer association, and several American soldiers stationed in West Germany.

The West German government responded to the terrorist threat in different ways. One early anti-terrorist measure required all government employees to take a loyalty oath. But this measure was soon criticized as a pointless intrusion into people's lives and was virtually abandoned.

In 1976, West Germany made it a crime to establish a terrorist organization. Other changes in the law increased police powers. With court approval, the police could search entire apartment buildings for suspected terrorists. The police could also establish checkpoints on roadways to stop traffic and inspect the identification of travelers.

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Handling Controversy in the Classroom

The following is designed to stimulate active student participation. Some of the examples are hypothetical and may be controversial. They were developed (1) to provide a realistic context for students to discuss terrorism and (2) to generate critical thinking, debate, and analysis on the part of the students.

It is important to lay down ground rules in advance of discussing controversial ideas. Below are some suggested rules. Students should:

- Argue ideas, not personalities or prejudices.
- Demonstrate an attempt to understand all opposing perspectives.
- Be able to admit doubts and weaknesses in their own position.
- Represent the opposing positions fairly and accurately.
- Concentrate on evidence in their arguments.

If serious disagreement arises in your classroom, remind students that they agreed to abide by the ground rules and set about *defining*, or clarifying, the disagreement. Teachers should:

- Identify the issue(s) under dispute.
- Identify areas of agreement and disagreement.
- Identify underlying assumptions.
- Make sure students concretely define their terms and avoid slogans and epithets.

Students should look for a chance to air their own views, hear their opponents' views, and examine both. Students should understand that the end of a discussion regarding controversial issues does not mean one side wins.

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Pakistan is being asked to support this campaign. What is this support? Generally speaking, there are three important things in which America is asking for our help.

First is intelligence and information exchange, second support is the use of our airspace and the third is that they are asking for logistic support from us....

Pakistan is facing a very critical situation and I believe that after 1971, this is the most critical period. The decision we take today can have far-reaching and wide-ranging consequences.

The crisis is formidable and unprecedented. If we take wrong decisions in this crisis, it can lead to worst consequences. On the other hand, if we take right decisions, its results will be good.

The negative consequences can endanger Pakistan's integrity and solidarity. Our critical concerns, our important concerns can come under threat. When I say critical concerns, I mean our strategic assets and the cause of Kashmir. If these come under threat it would be a worse situation for us.

On the other hand, we can re-emerge politically as a responsible and dignified nation and all our difficulties can be minimized. I have considered all these factors and held consultations with those who hold different opinions. I met the corps commanders, National Security Council and the Federal Cabinet. I interacted with the media. I invited the religious scholars and held discussions with them. I met politicians. I also invited intellectuals. I will be meeting with the tribal chiefs and Kashmiri leaders tomorrow. This is the same process of consultation that I held earlier. I noted that there was difference of opinion but an overwhelming majority favours patience, prudence and wisdom. Some of them, I think about ten percent, favoured sentimental approach.

Let us now take a look at the designs of our neighbouring country. They offered all their military facilities to the United States. They have offered without hesitation, all their facilities, all their bases and full logistic support. They want to enter into any alliance with the United States and get Pakistan declared a terrorist state. They want to harm our strategic assets and the Kashmiri cause. Not on this, recently certain countries met in Dushanbe. India was one of them. Indian representative was there. What do the Indians want? They do not have common borders with Afghanistan anywhere. It is totally isolated from Afghanistan.

In my view, it would not be surprising that the Indians want to ensure that if and when the government in Afghanistan changes, it shall be an anti-Pakistan government.

It is very important that while the entire world is talking about this horrible terrorist attack, our neighboring country instead of talking peace and cooperation, was trying hard to harm Pakistan and defame Islam. If you watch their television, you will find them dishing out propaganda against Pakistan, day in and day out. I would like to tell India, "Lay off."

Pakistan's armed forces and every Pakistani citizen is ready to offer any sacrifice in order to defend Pakistan and secure its strategic assets. Make no mistake and entertain no misunderstanding. At this very moment our Air Force is at high alert; and they are ready for "Do or die" missions. My countrymen! In such a situation, a wrong decision can lead to unbearable losses.

What are our critical concerns and priorities? These are four:

- First of all is the security of the country and external threat.
- Second is our economy and its revival.
- Third are our strategic nuclear and missile assets.
- And Kashmir cause.

The four are our critical concerns. Any wrong judgment on our part can damage all our interests. While taking a decision, we have to keep in mind all these factors.

The decision should reflect supremacy of righteousness and it should be in conformity with Islam. Whatever we are doing, it is according to Islam and it upholds the principle of righteousness. I would like to say that decisions about the national interests should be made with wisdom and rational judgment.

At this moment, it is not the question of bravery or cowardice. We are all very brave. My own response in such situations is usually of *continued on p. 23*

Web Sites of Interest

<http://complicity.english.louisville.edu/peace/print.html>
A selection of alternative and other sources of news, information, teaching resources, etc. on events since September 11. Compiled by the University of Louisville Peace & Justice Committee.

<http://63.104.169.22/PDF/teaching_guides/terrorism.pdf>
A Teaching Guide on International Terrorism: Definitions, Causes, and Responses by the United States Institute of Peace.

GENERAL NEWS RESOURCES—
Alternet: **<http://www/alternet/org>** • FAIR: **<http://www.fair.org>**
The Guardian: **<http://www.guardian.co.uk>**
ZNET: **<http://www.zmag.org>**
Common Dreams: **<http://www.commondreams.org>**

<http://www.refdesk.com/paper.html> <http://www.newsrack.com>
Lists of newspapers from around the world, including Central Asia & the Middle East

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The West Germans expanded their intelligence-gathering agencies. They also organized a crack anti-terrorist reaction unit. This unit could reportedly assemble in 15 minutes and deploy anywhere in the country within an hour with high-speed helicopters, special land vehicles, and high-tech weapons.

At first, the West Germans granted concessions to the Red Army Faction terrorists in hostage situations. But this only prompted the RAF to take more hostages and demand that the government release RAF leaders from prison. In 1975, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt reversed the policy of granting concessions to terrorists. When he refused to give in to RAF demands after it took over the West German embassy in Sweden, terrorists murdered two diplomats and blew up the embassy. The blast killed two of the terrorists. The other four were deported to West Germany, tried, and sent to prison. Hostage-taking by the RAF dropped off after this incident. Most governments today say they do not negotiate with or grant concessions to terrorists. But experts caution never to say never.

By the early 1980s, most Red Army Faction members were either dead or in prison. The success of this West German anti-terrorist effort was due mainly to good intelligence and police work that did not seriously threaten the civil liberties of the people.

Italy: Red Brigades

The Red Brigades began forming in Milan auto factories around 1970. These revolutionary groups were led by Marxist university students who believed that the workers were ready to rise up against their "capitalist masters." Soon the Red Brigades started committing major terrorist acts throughout Italy. They participated in kidnapings, bombings, political assassinations, and shootings. A favorite tactic was "kneecapping," shooting victims in the legs to permanently cripple them.

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Al Qaeda

[Based on information from "Patterns of Global Terrorism—2000," Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, US Department of State, April 2001. *Ed.*]

Al Qaeda was established by Osama bin Ladin in the late 1980s to bring together Arabs who fought in Afghanistan against the Soviet invasion. He helped finance, recruit, transport, and train Sunni Islamic extremists for the Afghan resistance. The aim of Al Qaeda is to drive Americans and western influence from all Muslim nations, especially Saudi Arabia, birthplace of Islam. The organization seeks to destroy Israel, overthrow pro-western governments in Muslim countries, and unite all Muslims to establish an Islamic nation adhering to their view of Islam. Al Qaeda issued statement under the banner of "the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders" in February 1998, saying it was the duty of all Muslims to kill US citizens—civilian or military—and their allies everywhere.

Al Qaeda has been linked to plans, which were not carried out, to assassinate Pope John Paul II during his visit to Manila in late 1994, simultaneous bombings of the US and Israeli Embassies in Manila and other Asian capitals in late 1994, the midair bombing of a dozen US trans-Pacific flights in 1995, and to kill President Clinton during a visit to the Philippines in early 1995. It continues to train, finance, and provide logistic support to terrorist groups in support of these goals.

Al Qaeda may have several hundred to several thousand members. Also, it serves as a focal point or umbrella organization for a worldwide network that includes many Sunni Islamic extremist groups such as Egyptian Islamic Jihad, some members of al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, and the Harakat ul-Mujahidin.

Al Qaeda has a worldwide reach, has cells in a number of countries, and is reinforced by its ties to Sunni extremist networks. Bin Ladin and his key lieutenants reside in Afghanistan, and the group maintains terrorist training camps there.

Bin Ladin, son of a billionaire Saudi family, is said to have inherited approximately $300 million that he uses to finance the group. Al Qaeda also maintains moneymaking front organizations, solicits donations from like-minded supporters, and illicitly siphons funds from donations to Muslim charitable organizations.

ACTIVITIES OF AL QAEDA

It is thought to be responsible for the September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and probable other sites. Thousands of people were killed. Other activities for which it is likely responsible include:

- Oct 12, 2000 – Bombing of USS Cole in port in Yemen with 17 US sailors killed.
- Dec 14, 1999 – Plot to bomb millennial celebration in Seattle foiled when customs agents arrest an Algerian smuggling explosives into the US.
- Dec 1999 – Jordanian police arrested members of a cell planning attacks against US and Israeli tourists.
- Aug 1998 – Bombing of US Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing over 300 people and injuring more than 5,000 others.
- 1995-96 – Bombing of US barracks in Saudi Arabia with 22 soldiers killed.
- 1994 – Investigation into bombing of World Trade Center reveals plan was part of a massive attack that planned to include CIA headquarters.
- 1993 – bombing of World Trade Center with 6 killed.
- 1993 – killing of US soldiers in Somalia.

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Should Military Tribunals Be Established to Try Suspected Terrorists?

On November 12, 2001, President George W. Bush issued an order, as commander-in-chief, establishing military tribunals to try in a military court any non-citizen he designates, without the right of appeal to the courts or other protections of the Bill of Rights.

Any non-citizen whom the president deems to be a member of Al Qaeda, or to be engaged in international terrorism or thought to be harboring such people, can be detained indefinitely under this order and tried. The exact details for the order will be developed by the Department of Defense. Observers believe that the provisions outlining these trials will include a lesser standard for determining guilt, which now has to be established beyond a reasonable doubt; guilty verdicts perhaps by a two-thirds majority rather than a unanimous decision, and the elimination of the right of appeal to any court.

The administration favors such trials because the US is at war. There are potential terrorists living in this country who would do great harm, if they could. Secret trials will protect sensitive evidence from becoming known.

While some are not pleased with these regulations, they are willing to accept them. Lawrence H. Tribe, Harvard Law Professor, for example, states that "in a time of war, it is hard for us to be able to second guess the president that information released in a trial might jeopardize sources by showing how we got the information or give terrorists information about how we are tracking them. So, I'm not entirely comfortable with it but I don't see any better way . . . . The prospect of someone who might be a material witness being held indefinitely is scary. But the idea that someone might be released and then go and blow up Cleveland is scarier still."

Others strongly disagree. Robert B. Reich, secretary of labor under President Bill Clinton, argues that "The president is by emergency decree getting rid of rights that we assumed that anyone within our borders legally would have. We can find ourselves in a police state step by step without realizing that we have made these compromises along the way."

An editorial in *The Washington Post* ("End-Running the Bill of Rights," November 16, 2001) also takes issue with the establishment of military tribunals: "When Americans accused of terrorism are tried in secret courts by hooded judges in Peru or other nations, the US government rightly objects. To authorize comparable trials in this country will erase any legitimacy of such objections. Worse, it will erode throughout the world the image of America as a place where certain freedoms cannot be compromised—freedoms that ultimately provide the most basic justification for this country to stake its claim to lead the world and wage the war on terrorism. And worse in turn than the blow to the US image abroad will be potentially irreversible inquiry at home if Mr. Bush proceeds, as his order would allow, to undermine the rule of law."

Others have noted that when Timothy McVeigh killed 168 fellow citizens in Oklahoma City he was tried in public with all the constitutional safeguards of federal law and the Constitution. Now, they observe, when defendants are foreigners, and probably Muslims, they are presumed to be guilty and will be tried in secret by a military tribunal. "Military tribunals, secret evidence, no numbers on *continued on p. 15*

A History of US Government Actions to Limit Civil Liberties

- 1798 – Alien and Sedition Act, authorizes deportation of alien enemy males and restricts criticism of government.
- 1861 – President Abraham Lincoln suspends the writ of *habeas corpus* in 3 states and District of Columbia. Extended in 1863 to all states. Allows federal officials to keep individual imprisoned without bringing charges.
- 1918 – The Entry and Departure Controls Act. Passed under President Woodrow Wilson to control the entry or departure in time of war or national emergency of any non-citizen whose movement was contrary to public safety.
- 1942 – President Franklin D. Roosevelt issues Executive Order 9066 forcing relocation of more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans from the west coast to camps in Colorado, Utah and elsewhere.
- 1950 – The Internal Security Act forbids members of Communist-action organizations to hold non-elective office or employment or to work in the defense industry, or to apply for or use a passport. Also establishes Subversive Activities Control Board to determine which organizations are "Communist fronts." Also required members of Communist Party to register with the government, but this provision was declared unconstitutional by US Supreme Court in 1965.
- 1978 – Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act authorizes electronic eavesdropping and wiretapping in collection of foreign intelligence information. Establishes special court of seven federal judges meeting in secret to allow surveillance by Justice Department. Expanded in 1994 to permit physical searches without court order.
- 1996 – The Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act prohibits entry into the US of non- citizen members of terrorist organizations and returns to the border any person who entered the country unlawfully "regardless of the duration of his or her presence in the United States." Allows federal officials to get court order to wiretap suspected immigration offenses relating to driver's licenses, passports and other forms of identification.

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how many people the government is detaining. We're looking like a Third World country," observes James Zogby, president of the Arab-American Institute.

William Safire, a columnist for *The New York Times*, asserts that even military justice provides for "a public trial, proof beyond a reasonable doubt, an accused's voice in the selection of juries and right to choose counsel, unanimity in death sentencing and above all appellate review by civilians."

He goes on to state that "not one of those fundamental rights can be found in Bush's military order setting up kangaroo courts for people he designates before 'trial' to be terrorists." Further, he thinks this "denial of traditional American human rights to non-citizens would backfire and in practice actually weaken the war on terror."❖

Constitutional Liberties vs. National Security

Many issues of terrorism and its consequences involve value judgments and ultimately decision-making, both of which are fundamental social studies processes. Here is one set of questions to help explore these issues.

1) What is the problem or issue to be resolved?
2) What proposal is being suggested? What are the most important considerations or values of its proponents?
3) What counter-proposals, or objections, are made? What are the most important considerations or values of its proponents?
4) Can these differences be resolved? How? If they cannot be resolved what alternatives exist for proponents? Opponents? What consequences would follow from each alternative?
5) What would be the most appropriate course of action?

Attack on the United States: How Should the US Respond?

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University's Watson Institute is built on a belief in the responsibility—not just the right—of all citizens in a democracy to voice their opinions and be heard. Inherent in this belief is a commitment to informed, reasoned, and respectful dialogue among people who hold differing perspectives on the issues of the day. Choices develops curricular materials on a wide range of international issues.

Following the September 11 attacks, Choices posted several resources to its web site <http://www.choices.edu> designed to help teachers (primarily high school) raise the issues surrounding the attacks in a constructive context and promote open dialogue about future policy direction. The policy options published in this issue of *Issues in Global Education* are part of this material.

Also posted to the Choices web site is a series of interviews with researchers at the Watson Institute for International Studies. These interviews provide very useful background for your students as they consider the options. A suggested lesson plan is also available.

The options provided on the Choices web site will be updated as needed. In addition, more extensive material related to the issues associated with September 11 will be available from Choices in February 2002.

There is also a section on its web site that contains links to several English-language foreign news sources that your students may wish to monitor. The coming weeks and months will most likely be a time of heightened public debate in the United States. Encourage students to communicate their views to elected officials and policy makers. Contact information for members of Congress can be found at <http://thomas.loc.gov>.

In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and the US response, we are in a new world, engaged in a new kind of warfare. What follows is a framework of policy "Options" that are designed to help you think about a range of possible policy alternatives and the ramifications of each. The Options are not intended as a menu of choices. Rather, they are framed in stark terms to highlight very different policy approaches and the values that underlie them. Each Option includes a set of arguments against it. These are designed to help you think carefully about the trade-offs of each. After you have had a chance to consider each of the options presented, we encourage you to articulate your own considered judgment on this question. You may want to borrow heavily from one of the Options presented or combine ideas from several. Or you may take a new approach altogether. As you frame your "Option 5," think about the following questions:

- Why did the terrorist attacks happen?
- Who is the enemy?
- What steps should we take in the coming weeks and months?
- What should we do about security at home?
- What should our long-term goals be? What values are important to us?
- What are the pros and cons of this approach?

OPTION 1

Act Alone If We Must to Defeat Terrorism

The United States cannot tolerate acts of terrorism, those who perpetrate them, or those nations that harbor terrorists. We cannot allow the disease of terrorism to plague our nation. It is our responsibility and duty to protect ourselves. The attacks of September 11 required a swift and decisive military response. Now that this response has begun, we should not let up. We must continue the military offensive on the Taliban in Afghanistan *continued on p. 16*

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and on the Al Qaeda network until both are destroyed. We must also recognize that the war on terrorism cannot stop there. Recent biological attacks here at home only underscore how important it is that we stop all terrorist groups wherever they are housed. We must be prepared to take this struggle to any nation that harbors international terrorists. We have welcomed the support and assistance that other nations have provided up to this point. However, we are not dependent upon them. Looking ahead, we must devote more resources to our military and intelligence forces. The US must be prepared to fight terrorism—alone if necessary—wherever and whenever it threatens. Nothing less than our freedom is at stake.

Arguments Against Option 1

- If we engage in indiscriminate attacks against innocent people in Afghanistan and elsewhere, we may make martyrs of the dead and encourage the survivors to become terrorists themselves. A response that feeds terrorism will inevitably be felt at home as the cycle of violence increases. As we have already seen, the United States cannot defend itself against all possible means that terrorists have at their disposal.
- It will require the help of many nations to break up the decentralized network of terrorist cells that currently exists around the world. If we act unilaterally without regard for the concerns or constraints of other countries, we will lose their support.
- This response fails to address the underlying causes of terrorism, including a deep-seated resentment of the United States, and will instead only lead to a continuing cycle of violence and more deaths of innocent people.
- A response that indiscriminately takes the lives of innocent civilians anywhere in the world would bring the United States down to the moral level of the terrorists. Our country must respond to terrorism in ways that preserve our national ethics and democratic traditions.

OPTION 2

Maintain the US-Led Coalition

The attacks of September 11 were heinous crimes that all the civilized world has condemned. In the weeks following the attacks, the United States worked swiftly to build a coalition of nations prepared to bring the full measure of their diplomatic, financial, intelligence, and military resources to bear to identify, hunt down, and stop those who were the perpetrators of these vicious attacks. As we move forward with this coalition, pursuing our own interests and responding to our own internal pressures, we must recognize that other nations are doing the same. Balancing other countries' constraints and interests against our own needs is becoming increasingly important as the military assault on the Taliban and Al Qaeda intensifies. Anti- American sentiment is increasingly surfacing within many of the countries involved in this effort. The stakes are rising as a new threat—biological terrorism—appears at home. To combat terrorism against US interests here and abroad, we must continue to have the cooperation of other countries, including access to the vast intelligence resources that are available only if we combine our efforts. In this increasingly complex international and domestic environment, we have no choice but to accommodate the interests of a broad and disparate group of nations with resources to offer to this effort.

Arguments Against Option 2

- While cooperation with other nations (particularly those in South Asia and the Middle East) may be desirable, it is hardly something we can count on given the domestic instability of many of these countries. We must be prepared to go it alone.
- Accommodating other nations' interests will lead us to compromise our nation's core values.
- A long-term effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism will require the full participation of the international community. Any coalition that does not reflect the interests and needs of all of the international community will fail.
- This response fails to address the underlying causes of terrorism, including those conditions that have fed a deep-seated resentment of the United States. It risks feeding that resentment and creating new recruits to terrorist networks.

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FACTS

Afghanistan

POPULATION: 27 million

LIFE EXPECTANCY: 46 years

RELIGION: 84% Sunni Muslim
15% Shiite Muslim
1% Other

MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS:

Pashtun	38%	Tajik	25%
Hazara	19%	Others	18%

CAPITAL: Kabul

GOVERNMENT: Until recent events, an Islamic nation with roughly 90% of the country controlled by the fundamentalist Taliban movement and the remainder controlled by the Northern Alliance and others.

ECONOMY: Leading cash crop is opium. One-third or more of population is supported by relief agencies.

GEOGRAPHY: Landlocked, mountainous. Bordered by Pakistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Iran.

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OPTION 3

Encourage the UN to Take the Lead in Seeking Justice

Terrorism is a global, not a national, problem. Our security and the security of the rest of the civilized world depend upon our ability to work together to address this universal threat. When the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were attacked on September 11, the nations of the world came together in recognition that these attacks were more than attacks on the United States—they were crimes against humanity. Since then, the United States has launched a US-led military operation against the Taliban in Afghanistan and against the Al Qaeda network. The US must now shift gears. We must recognize the UN as the entity with the legitimacy to develop and maintain a truly international effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism worldwide. We must offer our military, intelligence, and economic support to a UN-led effort to find the perpetrators of these terrorist acts and bring them to justice before the International Criminal Court. We must also support the UN in taking the lead to eradicate biological and chemical weapons worldwide. We must stand with the world community against lawless terror and contribute our strength to the international community to hold accountable those responsible.

Arguments Against Option 3

- These were attacks directed at targets in the United States, against symbols of America's power. We have a right to do what we know is necessary with or without the support of other nations and international organizations.
- Any international coalition will be ineffective without strong US leadership. For that leadership to be effective, we must not be constrained by others in either the timing of our action or the nature of our response.
- The UN already has a convention prohibiting biological weapons, which it has been unable to enforce. Why will the UN be any more effective now in eliminating these weapons?
- While an international effort to correctly identify the perpetrators and bring them to justice is a necessary step, terrorism will not end until we address its root causes.

OPTION 4

Address the Underlying Causes of Terrorism

Terrorism is inexcusable, and these crimes against humanity cannot be allowed to continue. However, military action only perpetuates the cycle of violence, dragging us into a war of strike and counterstrike that could last for generations. We will not solve the problem of terrorism simply by punishing terrorists. To focus our response to the attacks only on those who perpetrated them is to treat the symptom rather than the disease. We must recognize that terrorism aimed at us grows out of a deep-seated resentment of the United States. Clearly we must devote resources to improving security in our own country. However, if we are going to end the cycle of violence in which we are caught, we must halt our military offensive in Afghanistan and join with all civilized nations around the world to examine the deeper issues underlying terrorism. We must devote our attention and our resources to addressing the underlying causes of this terrorism—including poverty, powerlessness, hatred, and in some cases US policy—that allow terrorism to feed on the frustrations of some of the world's most disadvantaged peoples.

Arguments Against Option 4

- Backing off of our military commitment and allowing horrible crimes to be committed anywhere in the world—especially on US territory—without immediate consequences will only encourage terrorists to make additional attacks both at home and abroad.
- Addressing the underlying causes of terrorism will take time. Meanwhile we remain vulnerable to more terrorist attacks. Homeland security is not the only answer. We have to act now to stop these terrorist attacks at their source.
- The underlying causes of terrorism are overwhelming. Neither the United States nor the larger international community has the resources to address all of the underlying causes of terrorism.

Classroom Suggestions

The Policy Options presented in this material are not intended as a menu of choices. Each position highlights a very different policy approach and the values that underlie it. Divide the class into five groups. Assign each of four groups a policy option. Their task is to review the assigned option, consider the values that underlie it and its pros and cons, and then develop a class presentation supporting their position.

The remaining group assumes the role of the President and his advisors, or of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Their task is to review each option and prepare challenging questions to ask of the advocates for each option after their class presentation.

After all of the groups have presented their assigned options and the President or Senate group has asked questions to clarify the options, give all of the students an opportunity to come to terms with their own views. What should we do? Have them each frame their "Option 5." It may help them to use the questions provided with the Options as an organizing tool. ❖

Source: Excerpted with permission from the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program (Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912). <http://choices@brown.edu>

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Annotated Sources

[Below are resources related to terrorism available on the Internet that students and teachers will find useful. They were culled from "Terrorism Links" on Constitutional Rights Foundation's web site. For links to hundreds of sites and many more categories, go to <http://www.crf-usa.org>, click on "Web Lessons: America Responds to Terrorism," and click on "Links." *Ed.*]

Lessons and Teacher Resources

1. *America Responds to Terrorism.* The lessons in this material as well as additional lessons and resources are available on Constitutional Rights Foundation's site. **<http://www.crf-usa.org/terror/America%20Responds%20to%20Terrorism.htm>.**

2. *America Attacks.* Interdisciplinary lessons for grades 6–12 developed by the *New York Times* Learning Network in partnership with The Bank Street College of Education in New York City. **<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/specials/terrorism/index.html>.**

3. *America Responds: Classroom Resources.* Lesson plans for K–12 from PBS. **<http://www.pbs.org/americaresponds/educators.html>.**

4. *America's New War.* Lessons and other resources from CNN. **<http://www.turnerlearning.com/newsroom/specials.html>.**

Rumors and Urban Legends About the Terrorist Attacks and America's Response

5. *Rumors of War.* A collection of links to pages discussing the various rumors to come out of the September 11 terrorist attack. **<http://www.snopes2.com/rumors/rumors.htm>.**

6. *The Bunk Stops Here.* Links to sites debunking rumors and urban legends surrounding the attacks. From Purportal.com. **<http://purportal.com/special/9-11/>.**

Modern Terrorism Resources

7. *Recent Terrorism Events: Background and Context.* A large collection of articles on press coverage of the attack, religion and religious concepts, regional politics and society, terrorism and counterterrorism, and US intelligence. From CQ Press. **<http://www.cqpress.com/context/toc.html>.**

8. *Terrorism Research Center.* Essays on current issues as well as links to other terrorism documents, research, and resources. **<http://www.terrorism.com/index.shtml>.**

9. *Terrorist Group Profiles.* Annual reports on global terrorism, chronologies of significant terrorist incidents, and terrorist group profiles from the US Department of State. **<http://web.nps.navy.mil/~library/tgp/tgpmain.htm>.**

10. *Suicide terrorism: a global threat.* An October 2000 article from *Jane's Intelligence Review.* **<http://www.janes.com/security/regional_security/news/usscole/jir001020_1_n.shtml>.**

Information on the Middle East and Afghanistan

11. *Middle East-related Web Sites.* From the Middle East Institute. **<http://www.mideasti.org/html/links.html>.**

12. *Links to Middle East Government and Political Sites.* From Keele University, UK **<http://www.keele.ac.uk/depts/por/mebase.htm>.**

13. *Information Resources for Islamic, Middle Eastern and Near Eastern Studies.* From the UCSB library. **<http://www.library.ucsb.edu/subj/neareast.html>.**

14. *Afghanistan—Introduction.* A good short introduction to its history and geography. **<http://www.fas.org/irp/world/afghan/intro.htm>.**

Media

15. *Newspapers—US and Worldwide.* Links to newspapers. **<http://www.refdesk.com/paper.html>.**

16. *Hotline World Extra.* A comprehensive daily briefing on the war on terrorism by the *Atlantic Monthly.* **<http://www.theatlantic.com/hotline/>.**

17. *World Press Review: After September 11.* Stories from the international press. **<http://www.worldpress.org/specials/wtc/front.htm>.**

18. *Crypto-Gram: Special issue on the September 11 terrorist attacks and their aftermath.* Articles on the attacks, airline security regulations, biometrics in airports, diagnosing intelligence failures, regulating cryptography, terrorists and steganography, and protecting privacy and liberty. **<http://www.counterpane.com/crypto-gram-0109a.html>.**

19. *Foreign Affairs: The Terrorist Attack on America.* Selected articles related to terrorism. **<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/home/terrorism.asp>.**

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CLASSROOM ACTIVITY

Terrorism Prevention Act

Listed below are six hypothetical measures similar to those used by other countries to combat terrorism within their borders. In this activity, students will imagine that they are members of Congress considering whether or not the United States should adopt any of these measures.

1. Form six congressional committees. Assign each committee one of the anti-terrorist (below) measures to evaluate.

2. Each committee should draw up a list of pros and cons for the measure it is evaluating. Be sure to consider potential costs and effects on the civil rights of citizens. After weighing and balancing the factors, committee members should vote whether to recommend it to be included in a US "Terrorism Prevention Act." Committee members may choose to change the wording of the measure they wish to recommend.

3. Each committee should report its recommendation to the full Congress giving both majority and minority views. Other groups may then ask questions or argue points.

4. After all committees have reported, the Congress as a whole will vote on each measure reported out of committee. Prior to voting, you may wish to provide time for students to discuss and develop an acceptable compromise.

Anti-Terrorist Measures

1. Airline security throughout the United States should be turned over to the federal government and procedures similar to those used in Israel should be employed.

2. The US attorney general will draw up a list of terrorist organizations seeking to cause political change by violent means. Membership in any of these groups will be a criminal offense.

3. Each applicant for federal employment will be required to take a loyalty oath to the US Constitution and affirm that he or she is not, and has never been, a member of any terrorist organization.

4. The FBI and other federal law enforcement agencies will be permitted to use court-approved warrants to conduct roving wiretaps of suspected terrorists or search entire apartment buildings for terrorist suspects and evidence.

5. The United States will adopt and announce a firm policy of never negotiating with terrorists.

6. Individuals convicted of terrorist acts may have their sentences reduced if they volunteer significant intelligence information to federal law enforcement authorities.

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Government

20. *Countries.* Links to governments from Yahoo! **<http://dir.yahoo.com/Government/Countries/>**

21. *Governments on the Web.* **<http://www.gksoft.com/govt/en/>**.

Law

22. *Terrorism, Law, & Policy.* Resources developed by Jurist: The Legal Education Network at the University of Pittsburgh School of Law. **<http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/terrorism.htm>**.

23. *Special Coverage: War on Terrorism.* From FindLaw. **<http://news.findlaw.com/legalnews/us/terrorism/>**.

Think Tanks

24. *Cato on Terrorism.* **<http://www.cato.org/current/terrorism/index.html>**.

25. *Center for Defense Information: Terrorism Project.* **<http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/>**.

26. *Brookings Project on Terrorism.* **< http://www.brook.edu/terrorism/>**.

27. Heritage Foundation: America's Recovery and Reaction. **<http:// www.heritage.org/shorts/terrorism.html>**.

28. *Rand Corporation: Terrorism.* **<http://www.rand.org/hot/newslinks.html#terror>**.

Link Collections

29. *Research & Reference Resources, Events of September 11, 2001.* Compiled by Gary Price. **<http://www.freepint.com/gary/91101.html>**.

30. *Research Buzz 911.* Compiled by Tara Calishain. **<http://www.researchbuzz.com/911/>**

31. *Hot Topics.* A wide collection of links from Evergreen State College.**<http://www.evergreen.edu/user/library/govdocs/hotopics/index.html>**.

32. *September 11—Journalists' Resources.* From MediaMap. **<http://www.mediamap.com/Sept11.asp>**.

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During the 1970s and early 1980s, Red Brigade terrorists committed more than 10,000 acts of political violence, killing over 400 people. This group's most notorious act was the kidnaping and murder of Aldo Moro, the former leader of Italy. His brutal killing ended whatever sympathy Italians had for the Red Brigades.

Nearly four years later, Red Brigade terrorists kidnapped General James Lee Dozier, the American NATO commander. But by this time, Italian anti-terrorist intelligence units were closing in and Dozier was rescued.

As Red Brigade violence grew during the 1970s, the Italian government increased the authority of police to stop, search, and detain terrorist suspects. Individuals who refused to identify themselves could be held and questioned for up to 24 hours without having a lawyer present. Restrictions on telephone wiretaps were eased. It became a crime to join, organize, or promote any group seeking to overthrow the democratic system through violence.

One of the most successful tactics used by the Italian government was to reduce the sentences of convicted terrorists if they volunteered information about Red Brigade leaders and activities. Many youthful Brigade members, facing decades behind bars, chose to cooperate with the authorities. Consequently, the Red Brigade movement began to collapse. Over 800 members were arrested following the rescue of Dozier in January 1982.

By the mid-1980s, the Red Brigades were nearly extinct. As in Germany, the Italian government managed to wipe out a dangerous terrorist threat with minimal disruption to the rights of ordinary citizens.

Northern Ireland: Protestants vs. Catholics

In the 1920s, the British Parliament divided Ireland into two parts. It granted independence to most of the island, which formed the Irish Republic, with a population more than 90 percent Catholic. It retained, however, the northern six counties as part of Great Britain. Northern Ireland, also called Ulster, is about 60 percent Protestant and 40 percent Catholic.

Since the partition of Ireland, the Protestants and Catholics in Ulster have sought different political goals. The Protestant majority, which dominates the Ulster government, wants Northern Ireland to remain a part of Great Britain. The Catholic minority, which fears discrimination by the Protestants, wants Northern Ireland to unify with the independent nation of Ireland. If this were to happen, the Protestants would become the minority. They fear they would then be subject to Catholic discrimination. Because of these fears, religious and political hatreds fueled by terrorist violence have divided the Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland for more than half a century.

In 1969, rioting reached such a dangerous state that the British Army was sent to Northern Ireland to restore order. The army remains to this day due to continued violence by both Protestant and Catholic terrorist groups.

Over the past 25 years, terrorists have killed more than 3,000 people in Northern Ireland. About 800 bombings have taken place. While most of the terrorism has occurred in Northern Ireland, bombings and other violent acts have also been carried out on the British mainland.

The Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1978, granted significant powers to the army, police, and prosecutors. Under certain circumstances, police may conduct searches and arrests without warrants. Police may detain "suspected terrorists" for up to 72 hours before bringing them before a judge. Jury trials in criminal cases have been abolished because terrorist groups have intimidated jurors. During trial, prosecutors may submit evidence by affidavit instead of calling witnesses to testify in person. The burden of proof in illegal firearms possession cases is placed on the defendant.

Britain also passed a Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, which has been renewed annually since 1974. This act outlaws certain groups that have advocated violence, such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The act also authorizes the detention of suspects without charge for up to seven days.

Unlike West Germany and Italy, Great Britain did not ever completely put terrorist organizations out of action. One major reason for this is the widespread support and protection terrorists get from the Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland.

The presence of the British Army in Northern Ireland, along with major restrictions on civil rights, have, however, considerably reduced the level of violence.

Political negotiations have progressed significantly. Brokered by former US Senator George Mitchell, a historic peace agreement was signed in 1998 by leaders from all sides. Voters in the Irish Republic and the North overwhelmingly approved the pact. The pact provided for self-rule for *continued on p. 21*

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Comment on *Issues* articles, announcements, ideas and information about global education should be sent to the editor.

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Northern Ireland. The pact had many conditions, and some terrorism has continued. But recently, the Irish Republican Army started disposing of its arms, as promised in the pact. A permanent political settlement for Northern Ireland may be near.

Israel: A Target of Terror

Perhaps no nation on earth has had more experience in combating terrorism than Israel. Numerous groups oppose the existence of Israel or its policies toward the Palestinians. For example HAMAS, the Islamic Resistance Movement, has used terror to promote its goal of establishing an Islamic Palestinian state in place of Israel. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is a Marxist-Leninist group that has used terror to oppose détente with Israel among moderate Arab countries. Over the years, Israelis have suffered deadly ambushes, car bombings, suicide attacks, and airline hijackings from these and other terrorist groups.

To counter these threats, the Israeli government has established extensive intelligence-gathering and security systems. The Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency, maintains extensive files on suspected terrorists and terrorist groups. It uses agents to infiltrate the groups to gather information or spread disinformation. It also employs controversial tactics including assassinating leaders and preemptive strikes on terrorist groups.

Because of the daily danger of terrorism, Israeli citizens have learned to cope with a wide range of security measures. Consider what it is like to fly on Israel's airline, El-Al.

Passengers are subjected to intense scrutiny before they board an El-Al flight. Agents carefully examine suitcases, often removing all articles and checking them individually. Agents also thoroughly interrogate each passenger, asking whether the person has ever been to Israel before, where the person is going, where the person is going after the visit, and who packed the passenger's bags. Any nervousness or reluctance on the part of the passenger can result in further and even more detailed questioning. Passengers are also often separated from travel mates and questioned individually to determine if there are any contradictions in their stories. Even after this process, which can take 30 minutes or more, passengers may be called back and the questioning begun again.

Israeli security agents also make use of "profiling." Every passenger is checked through Interpol to determine if he or she has a criminal record. Passengers traveling from certain countries are more closely scrutinized. Arabs and certain foreigners are often subjected to intense questioning and more detailed searches, while most Israeli Jews proceed to board the planes. Using such practices in the United States would be very controversial and might run contrary to the Constitution and other laws.

All baggage on a flight must be matched to a given passenger before the plane takes off. Baggage is not only passed through x-ray and metal detectors, but is also placed in a decompression chamber that will trigger certain bomb fuses.

Armed, undercover Israeli security agents, trained to stop hijackers, fly on every plane. To keep any hijacker from taking over a plane, the cockpit door is locked once the pilots enter.

Whether Israeli security measures would work for airlines in the United States is unclear. The personnel and technology used would be very expensive. In addition, El-Al is a very small airline with only several hundred flights per week and only 26 airplanes. US airlines have thousands of flights each week and possess several thousand airliners.

United States: Security vs. Freedom

The United States has taken new steps to prevent terrorism at home. But to what extent should traditional American rights and freedoms be sacrificed in order to crack down on terrorist groups and suspects? Yale law professor Stephen Carter warns, "If terrorists can cause us to become a closed and fearful society, they win."

After the World Trade Center bombing in 1993, owners of the New York City office complex spent $25 million annually for security guards, surveillance cameras, and other anti-terrorist measures. Since the events of September 11, billions have been spent in investigating terrorism, helping its victims, and aiding the airlines to recover. But more needs to be done to *prevent* terrorism. Should the police be given special powers to search and interrogate terrorist suspects? Should potentially violent organizations be outlawed? James Q. Wilson, former professor of public policy at UCLA, thinks that the best way to control terrorists within the United States is to make use of informants and FBI undercover agents. In any case, Americans can no longer assume that the threat of terrorism is only a problem for other countries.

For Discussion and Writing

1. Why do terrorists commit seemingly senseless acts of violence?

2. What differences and similarities do you see among the terrorists who have operated in West Germany, Italy, and Northern Ireland?

3. Imagine that an airliner with men, women, and children aboard has been hijacked on an airport runway by terrorists. The terrorists demand $1 million, a helicopter to aid their escape, and that their "manifesto" be read over television. What do you think authorities should do in this situation? What do you think they should not do?

For Further Reading

- Lacayo, Richard. "How Safe Is Safe?" *Time*. May 1, 1995:68-72.
- Moxon-Browne, Edward, ed. *European Terrorism*. New York: G.K. Hall, 1994.
- "Experts: Israeli-style Security Would Have Averted Hi-jackings," (Sept 13, 2001), <http://www. hoosiertimes.com>. ❖

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[that] provide a convenient and accessible structure for participation, with specialized roles, hierarchies, and social support functions.

Joining a radical organization may not be completely voluntary, since chance or coercion may intervene. Disappointments and frustrations with nonviolent action are frequently cited as motivations in both democratic and authoritarian environments. Psychic wounds inflicted on people at an impressionable age, [or] instances where demands for change were summarily rejected by governments and idealistic ambitions were crushed. Another influence may be solidarity with groups that move collectively to terrorism. This solidarity sometimes takes the form of membership in a rebellious counterculture (often springing from a student or university environment) or in the radicalized factions of a traditional or religious culture, as in Iran or India. The attractions of extremist violence for people with little to lose, free time, high energy levels, and a longing for excitement may be the factors that link the demographic characteristics of a society, or levels of unemployment, to terrorism.

What other factors act as a stimulus or facilitator to terrorism?

Ideologies that justify violence or beliefs that violence works [facilitate terrorism]. These ideologies owe much to the experience of national liberation movements in the postwar world, but in Europe the French Revolution had already established the principle that violence could be both morally right and politically efficacious. Today, awareness of the availability of terrorism as an option—whether it be assassination of heads of state or hijackings or bombings—is inescapable. The viability of terrorism enhances its contagiousness.

We know, for example, that terrorism is made possible by the support of a circle of people that extends beyond those militants who actively participate. The existence of social support networks may need less explanation in divided societies where terrorism is inspired by the nationalism or communal solidarity of minorities or by their need to confirm an ethnic and religious identity.

How is terrorism distinguished from other forms of violence?

It is systematic, deliberate, and sustained over time; it is not spontaneous or purely expressive, as some other forms of civil violence (riots, for example) may be. Engaging in terrorism usually requires a sustained commitment, which the individual must be able to justify in terms of society's (or some part of society's) values and aspirations. Many individual terrorists need to feel virtuous or altruistic. Because terrorism is explicitly justified by those who use it in terms of widely held social values, it differs fundamentally from family or criminal violence. It makes an explicit claim to political relevance. Emotions may influence commitments, but they are controlled and channeled through collective decision-making processes that give motivations an ideological cast.

[Terrorists] may see themselves acting as representatives of groups within society, defending and preserving an identity, or preventing the assimilation of a religious or ethnic community into an alien society that would dilute its values and traditions. Users of terrorism may think of themselves as bringing about a better society for all, thus acting in the interest of a collective good, not as a selfish contender for power in a narrow political arena.

How can the ideas or actions of terrorists be influenced?

[Because terrorists] seek to influence critical audiences, they respond to what they perceive the dispositions of these audiences to be. Terrorists may of course misperceive their circumstances and exaggerate the extent to which the people are prepared to offer sympathy or condone violence.

What are some signs of potential terrorism?

In divided societies, we can see that the existence of a long-standing conflict of interest, the persistence of real grievances based on long- standing patterns of discrimination and inequality, the deep loyalty to community values and to the symbols and myths developed over centuries, and the government's contested legitimacy may produce an environment in which groups using terrorism, such as the IRA or the PLO, are genuinely representative of a popular base. If terrorism seems to be the only effective means of armed struggle, then resistance and terrorism become synonymous. The constituency for terrorism will almost certainly understand and possibly admire terrorism even if hostile to it as a method, in part because the users of terrorism can claim to be representative.

A further point to consider is the *purposefulness* of terrorism as a style of violence. We note that terrorism is intended to affect the attitudes of popular audiences by altering their dispositions toward the government and its challengers. It is also calculated to affect the government's decision making. Furthermore, the audiences for terrorism are multiple. They include sympathizers, in which case terrorism is meant to elicit excitement or enthusiasm, strengthen solidarity, or redeem the past; antagonists, whom terrorism is intended to shock, intimidate, or coerce; and "neutrals," especially foreign publics whose attention and interest are sought.

Terrorism is thus generated in anticipation of a public reaction and becomes part of an interactive process.

How might we expect various audiences or people to react to terrorism?

Audiences react to two aspects of the issue: the case brought to their attention by terrorism and the particular method of terrorism, that is, the style of violence. Not everyone who *continued from p. 23*

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supports a cause will approve of any method of achieving it, but sympathy for ideological objectives will make approval of the method more likely. However, people who disapprove of the cause will almost certainly reject the method. Audiences are more likely to approve discriminate tactics than indiscriminate tactics, but only if the victim can be blamed. Moral judgments about the responsibility for conditions and the appropriateness of violent responses influence popular reactions.

How do governments usually respond to terrorism?

Democracies usually combine repression and reform, depending on the nature of the threat. For example, Western European democracies confronting terrorism saw a growth in power of state security institutions. West German and Italian governments also upgraded intelligence-gathering and surveillance functions, bringing the government into a more intrusive role vis-à-vis society. In West Germany, Spain, Italy, and the United Kingdom, anti-terrorist legislation restricted civil liberties.

How can governments control terrorism while maintaining democratic freedoms?

Democracies struggle with terrorism from the Left and from the Right, as well as from nationalist or separatist interests. They must balance a perceived need to control the direct consequences of terrorism by maintaining order and security, with the realization that any coercive response to terrorism reduces democratic freedoms.

How do you end terrorism?

Ending terrorism may require a change in the motivations of the individuals involved. How do conditions change so as to decrease incentives for terrorism? What might cause individuals to abandon the initial commitment that bound them to a terrorist role? When do people who use terrorism cease to believe in their own justifications? Under what circumstances can the individuals who have participated in terrorism be reintegrated into society?

The causes and effects of terrorism are comprehensive only in terms of political conflicts in specific historical time periods. There are commonalities among instances of terrorism, but each case is unique. Terrorism remains unpredictable in part because its multiple contexts are dynamic. Governments and challengers respond differently to similar circumstances. Original conditions change as a result of terrorism. Even the meaning of the term changes as politics and society change. ❖

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daring. But bravery without rational judgment tantamounts to stupidity. There is no clash between bravery and sound judgment.

Allah Almighty says in the holy Koran, "The one bestowed with sagacity is the one who get a big favour from Allah." We have to take recourse to sanity. We have to save our nation from damage. We have to build up our national respect. "Pakistan comes first, everything else comes later."

Osama bin Laden
Head of Al Quaeda

Videotape aired by Al Jazeera, Qatar, October 7, 2001

Here is America struck by God Almighty in one of its vital organs, so that its greatest buildings are destroyed. Grace and gratitude to God. America has been filled with horror from north to south and east to west, and thanks be to God. What America is tasting now is only a copy of what we have tasted.

Our Islamic nation has been tasting the same for more than 80 years, of humiliation and disgrace, its sons killed and their blood spilled, its sanctities desecrated.

God has blessed a group of vanguard Muslims, the forefront of Islam, to destroy America. May God bless them and allot them a supreme place in heaven, for he is the only one capable and entitled to do so. . . .

I say that the matter is very clear. Every Muslim, after this event, after the senior officials in the United States of America starting with the head of international infidels, Bush and his staff who went on a display of vanity with their men and horses, those who turned even the countries that believe in Islam against us—the group that resorted to God, the Almighty, the group that refuses to be subdued in its religion . . . . I tell them that these events have divided the world into two camps, the camp of the faithful and the camp of infidels. May God shield us and you from them.

Every Muslim must rise to defend his religion. The wind of faith is blowing and the wind of change is blowing to remove evil from the Peninsula of Muhammad, peace be upon him.

As to America, I say to it and its people a few words: I swear to God that America will not live in peace before peace reigns in Palestine, and before all the army of infidels depart the land of Muhammad, peace be upon him.

God is the greatest and glory be to Islam. ❖

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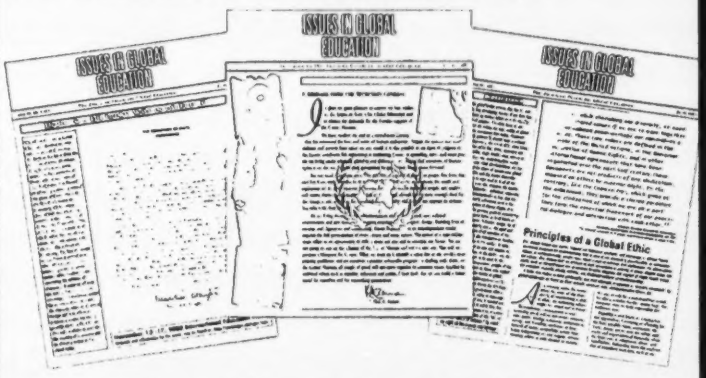

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